The Greening of America by Charles Reich.

For one splendid week, sometime back in 1970, Yale seemed about to dominate the whole world of ~~belles lettres~~ literature and letters. ~~Beyond the feet of Yale University~~ ~~seemed to be~~ Two young professors had just published books which were sweeping the country. ~~Sweept~~ ~~They were at~~ Both of them Yale, both fellows of Ezra Stiles College, and both ~~[redacted]~~ sitting at the very top of the N.Y. Times best-seller list — one for fiction, one for non-fiction. ~~It should have been~~ Surely if ever there was a time for dancing on the green at New Haven.

But the reaction at Yale was curiously mixed. For the two books in question were — first, in fiction, Erich Segal's Love Story; and in non-fiction Charles Reich's The Greening of America — and while both were enormously successful, selling in the millions, neither were exactly great as critical successes. "Walt Disney with a girl instead of a dog" — was one typical comment on Love Story; and as for The Greening — critics from the whole intellectual spectrum, left to right, Galbraith to Buckley, supped with it with glee. "It is beyond criticism," said acid-tongued Malcolm Muggeridge, "because one cannot criticize massive imbecility."

Now to a university ~~like Yale~~ intellectual prestige is far more precious than any million-copy ~~seller~~ sales receipts — so New Haven's ~~has been certainly~~ ~~extraordinary~~ joy in its instant-celebrity professors — Reich and Segal — has not been unrestrained.

And yet despite the poor reviews, The Greening of America, ~~it~~ ~~book~~ is an important book. When a non-fiction analysis of contemporary culture by a ~~[redacted]~~ professor at Yale's Law School turns into a run-away best seller — the publishers had scheduled only ~~a 40,000 first~~ a 4,500-copy first printing — ~~it becomes a phenom~~ when it can draw a fervent tribute from at least one Cabinet, Sen. George McGovern, who calls it "one of the most gripping

penetrating and revealing analyses of American society I have yet seen" — when it appears to ~~describe~~ so many people to capture the very essence of the mind of Young America ~~today~~ now — then it is a book not to be thrown away a disturbed liberality, whether it turns you purple with rage, or soft with sheer happiness. ~~The Greening~~ Unless you have already turned the whole world off as too much of a mess to bother with — if you are still trying to understand ~~what's wrong today~~, The Greening of America is a book you had better read.

Eileen and I are only going to try to give you a taste of it. First we will ~~try~~ attempt a summary — an over-all view of what Reich ~~is trying~~ is saying.

~~I'll give an introduction.~~

~~Eileen will~~

Let me begin with ~~a brief~~ his introduction. ~~to the book~~ Reich, incidentally, is 43 years old. He is an asst prof. of law at Yale, and teaches a general course — for undergraduates — American Studies 36A, ~~a~~ titled "Individualism in America" which ~~a~~ ~~very popular~~ consistently crowded the law school auditorium out to its 600-seat capacity. This is the course in which he developed the thesis of his book.

Reich starts out like a prophet — and closes like an evangelist. The prophecy sets the tone for the whole book — a prophecy of revolution, but a prophecy of hope. This is how he puts it:

"There is a revolution coming. It will not be like revolutions of the past. It will originate with the individual and with culture, and it will change the political structure only as its final act. It will not require violence to succeed, and it cannot be successfully resisted by violence. ~~This is the revolution of the new generation.~~ (a) It promises a higher reason, a more human community, and a new and liberated

individual. Its ultimate creation will be .. a renewed relationship of man to himself, to other men, to society, to nature, and to the land. This is the revolution of the new generation. Their protest & rebellion, their culture, clothes, music, drugs .. are not a passing fad .. not irrational .. from beads to bell-bottoms .. (they) are part of the pattern .. a change of consciousness .. [part of the] "new man" (2-3) who, says Reich, is living in the revolution

In essence, Reich's revolution is a rediscovery by the new generation of the fact that man does not live by bread alone. It is a revolt against materialism, affluence, logic of technocracy. But it is not violent, and not organized – it is simply sweeping in, as inevitable as the tide, – because it is a change of mind and personal attitude, a rather than a forced change in the structure of society. Having pointed prophetically to the future, Reich turns, as ought, and says like any good evangelist – the revolution must begin not in society, but in your mind, and in your heart.

His vision of the future, however, does begin with an analysis of society – American society. For the American mind, he says, has produced three successive stages of social order. Note again that it is the mind – the world view – or, as Reich calls it – the "consciousness" that produces the culture, and not vice-versa.

America, he says, in his own special analysis of American history, has had three of these definitive, determining "consciousness".

Consciousness I is 19th c. – the world-view of the pioneer and his American dream – the America of freedom, the frontier and the small town. ~~The great American dream. That is Consciousness I~~ Eileen will describe it in more detail in a moment. This is as near as Reich lets us get to Eden – the state of innocence. ~~and the loss of innocence~~.

Consciousness II. ~~is early 20th c. begins with the 20th c.~~ in the sixties of the preg. ~~It~~ It is the world view of 20th c. "organization" man, the successful American. It produced ~~the~~ America ~~of a technical and corporate society~~ technocratic, incorporate, and inhuman ~~It is the villain of the piece~~ – the Corporate State, ~~I'll sketch describe this in more detail~~. stripping Eden of its green, leaving it polluted + pavement.

Consciousness III is the Seventies – the revolution, peaceable and undeclared. It began in the summer of 1967 with the young. And as yet people see only its outer symbols – the beads, the long hair and the bell-bottom trousers, but the great change has begun – and the world will be green again. Again, Eileen and I will a little later try to do justice to Reich's description of Consciousness III, what is the greening process, which is the heart of his book. ~~the~~

Finally, after we have tried to present Reich's ~~theory I~~ genius. ~~And we~~ I will conclude with some positive and negative criticisms and reactions – both personal and borrowed. Which, I hope, will leave time for discussion before we adjourn.

We begin first with ~~Consciousness~~ Reich's panorama analysis of American history:

Consciousness I. Eileen.

CONSCIOUSNESS I

In 1789 a vast new world lay before the American people. It was a Garden of Eden all over again. The resources were limitless. Rigid social forms and class status of the old world were behind. Each individual was sovereign and prosperity depended only upon individual energy and hard work. On one side of the new American dream was a belief in basic human dignity - each man was an equal being. The hero was not a worldly man. He was not cunning. He was not a man of great learning. He was no intellectual. He would succeed because of his very plainness; because of his character, honesty and hard work. It would be in goodness, not in knowingness that he would triumph.

On the second side, the American character showed many signs of basic human weakness. Self-interest, competitiveness, suspicion of others.

So the Consciousness I man was a man who believed in personal morality but also self-interested single-minded individualism. There were no rewards to losers. Even one's neighbor was somewhat suspect, for his gain was my loss. Underlying this attitude was the assumption that human nature is essentially evil and that a struggle against human nature, against man's natural environment and against one's fellow man is necessary to survival.

Consciousness I, of course, does not favor big government, but rather that which allows for most individual freedom. It votes for candidates who seem to possess moral virtues, promise law and order, lower taxes, rectitude. It concentrates on self-reliance and self-interest and favors stern measures to put down subversion at home and threats from abroad.

Reich says that even though, in this second half of the 20th century, the beliefs of Consciousness I are totally out of touch with reality, they are still held stubbornly against all contrary evidence by farmers, owners of small businesses, AMA-type doctors, gangsters, many members of Congress, Republicans, immigrants who retain their sense of nationality,

many "just plain folk" and, we might add, some conservative missionaries.

Consciousness I grew out of a simple life situation. There were no large, impersonal institutions. Life was integrated. Work, play and worship were a part of this unity. Each man was king of his own castle no matter how humble it might be. Power was feared to such an extent that Americans of Consciousness I built into the national constitution a plan for dividing and limiting power and subjecting its use to many safeguards. The people were the ultimate and only sovereigns and they were competing in what started out a healthy way, individual against individual.

But the cells of destruction, though latent at first, were present from the beginning of the great American democratic dream. In Consciousness I, innocence, narrow self-interest and shallowness combined to produce a massive flight from responsibility and awareness of consequences. Also it began to be characterized by a kind of willful ignorance of growing injustices, ignorance of the causes of social problems, ignorance of the world. Demanding a superficial "normalcy" for continuing development of self-interests, Consciousness I Americans shut their eyes to anything which did not agree with Consciousness I values and blamed anything that went wrong on "the Communists" - or "them".

Slowly, ever so slowly at first, Consciousness I began to lose its roots. And the breakdown came partly as a result of the harsher side of the American character and value system - narrow self-interest; too much disregard of nature and neighbor in the fever of competition and goal of material progress. There was no ability to perceive cause and effect: Social problems, said Consciousness I, are due to bad character.

So the world changed all around Consciousness I but it never acknowledged the change and to this day continues to live with its myths. It lost contact with reality.

The presuppositions of Consciousness I reality were threatened by

the rise of two worldwide forces: First, the competitive market economy and second, scientific technique. Both these two forces first appeared as benefactors. They offered men freedom from toil. The market system makes all men competitors so they will be more productive. Man's labor, his environment, his culture all pale before this god "production". Money! - Profit! - Surplus! And what better enabler is there to the realization of this highest value than scientific technique! "Efficiency" now becomes the means to the end.

The American people as a whole began to lose the power of decision over large areas of personal and national life. They also lost the power of making value judgments for themselves, their families and society to the few who controlled the new conglomerates; - the huge farms, the supermarket chains, the oil industry, the auto industry, the railroads, communications media, etc. Reich says the real socialists, collectivizers, subversives in America did not have beards and bombs, foreign accents and manifestoes. It was the Vanderbilts, the Carnegies, the Harrimans and Fords who were the enemies of the original American ideal; of democracy, of independence and the pursuit of happiness.

But Consciousness I has been, and continues to be, ~~utterly~~ totally unable to come to terms with the realities of private power created by industrialism. Although opposition to power is part of the essential American idea, Americans have watched corporations acquire power to plan the economy, to decide what is to be produced, to fix prices, to regulate essential services including the distribution of news and information and to regulate the lives of workers, without taking effective steps to cope with it. Consciousness I could not grasp or accept the reality that the individual was no longer competing against the success of other individuals, but against a system.

Early in the 20th century America became deeply divided - polarized between those people who held fast to Consciousness I and those who began to realize the blindness of Consciousness I and sought governmental

and social reform. And in the end the reformers did gain enough power to change the structure of our institutions and to begin the creation of a new consciousness.

CON II

If, as Eileen has pointed out, Reich's Consciousness I belongs to "AMA type doctors, many members of Congress, gangsters, Republicans, just plain folks" and conservative missionaries, to whom does Consciousness II belong? Reich doesn't hesitate to name names. Conscousness II people, he says, are "businessmen, liberal intellectuals, eduated professionals, middle-class suburbanites, labor leaders, Gene McCarthy supporters, blue-collar workers with newly purchased homes, old-line liberals and communists, the Kennedys, the editorial page of the New York Times," and, we might add, liberal missionaries.

These are the villains; and this is the surprise. The serpent in Reich's paradise is not so much the conservative as the old-fashioned liberal.

Here is how he describes the second definitive stage in our American culture: Consciousness II.

It began with the failure of Consciousness I. Con. I America had dreamed of liberty and equality for all with progress through free competition. Some Americans kept on dreaming, but those who saw what was really happening discovered that the individual was no longer competing with other individuals, he was in a losing battle against an industrialized, technologized system. The individual was being squeezed out, and the world of Con. I was collapsing into "a gangster world" of "robber barons, business piracy, false advertising, grotesque inequality and the chaos of excessive individualism." (p. 63).

Facing disaster, in the 1930s, liberal reformers came up with another dream--the beginnings of a new Consciousness (Con. II)--to save society. Their intentions were good, but, as Reich insists, their world view was based "on a profoundly pessimistic view of man". They

thought the American dream had failed because the individual had failed, so they turned from individualism to socialism, i.e. control by society. Free, uncontrolled man had failed, but perhaps man controlled by society for the good of society could succeed. After all, is not the society more important than any single individual. Listen to President Kennedy, "Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country." That is the voice of Consciousness II, says Reich. (p. 72)

The danger, says Reich, is that though nominally liberal, Con. II has the potential to become repressive. It asks for the individual to sacrifice for the common good; it asks for more social responsibility by private business; and it aks for more government action, more government regulation, more of a welfare state. But this willingness to sacrifice the individual for the sake of the organization dehumanizes the culture, makes science, technology, organization and planning the prime values, and leaves man to become dominated by his creation, the machine.

The Reformer turned to government hoping it would check and balance the big corporations, but instead the two (government and industry) joined hands and combined in a new monster: The American Corporate State, "the worst of all possible worlds", as Reich describes it, "a single, vast corporation, with every person as an involuntary member and employee." (119) Lost in the Corporate State, man walks "mindless and lifeless, the inmate and instrument of a machine world". He has sucked the green out of the natural world about him to run his machine; and the machine in turn has sucked the humanity out of man. Life has lost its meaning. Man has lost himself.

But there is one great hope. The machine has begun to ;self-destruct. Its inner contradictions are pricking the illusions of Con. I and Con. II people with feelings of want and dissatisfaction. Among

Among older people, the worker-consumers, the contradiction is between man's dual role as worker and consumer. As consumer the State urges him to indulge his pleasures and spend. But as worker, it asks him to discipline himself and produce. How ~~kxxx~~ can he live for his own pleasures and work at the same time. The principle of hedonism contradicts the principle of service. (207-8). Consciousness II is breaking down. People over 30 may not yet see the contradiction in their lives; but the young do. "Children, teen-agers, artists, writers and especially movie-makers", says Reich, these are the ones who understand the world best. They are the beginning of Consciousness III.

Eileen.

, says Kerr, not in so many words:

light . . . tunnel

K

in fact,

food, vocabulary, literature, awareness of reality,

But the real energizing spirit of the revolution is not in outward signs. It is inside the convert, himself.

Critique

As you might guess, reactions to The Greening range all the way from the completely unprintable to the ravingly ecstatic — though there are remarkably few of the latter. You really ought to be required to read, along with The Greening, a volume that has collected together the more important reviews — The Con III Controversy: The Critics Look At the Greening of America (Philip Noble). The interesting fact about it is that almost without exception all major reviewers have found severe fault with The Greening.

~~For~~ Muggeridge on the right, acid-pen as usual, growls. ~~— it is beyond criticism because one cannot criticize consistently imbeciles~~ "How a population stupefied with pot, allergic to any form of discipline or self-control nomadic, promiscuous and indulgent is to keep the dark satanic mills of technology going is not explained." (1-2)

~~To~~ But Galbraith on the left — ~~also~~ just as critical. ~~He~~ is happy he is quoted so often, but, he ~~also wonders who's going to be making the steel while everyone is out surfing and sleeping at college in the green, and the~~ = stinging Reich rejection of Eng. reason — somewhat unkindly suggests that Consciousness III is just another manifestation of "student revolt against the oldest of student grievances which is the need for mental effort." (19)

~~And~~ ~~to~~ Herbert Marcuse, on the far, far left, who ~~thinks a non-violent~~ taught Angela Davis, ~~also~~ thinks a non-violent revolution is childish nonsence ~~that~~ Reich tells revolution like an "ostrich" with his head in the sand, being (17) ~~Ellen Willis is same caustic — "the mushy college professor" she writes, "who thinks we are going to make a revolution by sitting on our asses [illegible] contemplating the sunset"~~ (277).

My own reaction: I'm surprised to find isn't all that negative ~~It's negative enough, but not that negative~~! This is an important book to me — not because it tells the facts (it doesn't) — but because it describes a

mood, ~~the~~ the mood, ~~the thinking~~ that is of the new generation, and this is something well worth trying to understand. It is no surprise therefore, to find that one reason for the books immense sales, despite the reviews, is that it was bought not so much by youth, as by harassed parents trying desperately to understand their children. This is, probably, what they are thinking - and that is important to know. Whether they are right or wrong is another matter. As one of Reich's fellow professors at Yale remarks, "It's okay to hang around all of the time with students, as Charlie does, but this is the first time anybody has ever tried to base an ideology on it" (R. Brustein, Dean of School of Drama, in NY Times) (p. 45).

The ideology ~~is~~ never quite rises above wishful thinking. Reich comes through better as a prophet ~~pointing away at the~~ cutting pretty close to the nerve as he exposes the faults of the past and the present, than as an evangelist inviting us into the beautiful world of Consciousness III.

His picture, ~~particularly~~ of the meaningless, machine mad, money-loving plastic world of Con II - our world - should be required reading, even if it makes you ~~mutter "the~~ sputter and fume over the way he overdoes it - because it describes so vividly just what the young see in our square, gray world that makes ~~them~~ turn ~~their~~ backs on it + go off with their pot & their beads & long hair to live in their communes. Perhaps most notably, ~~their parents~~ the contrast between their parents ideals, which they accept, and their parents' failure to live by these same ideals (p. 237).

He's good at condemning, like any minor prophet, but his solutions is a little too light weight for me. it wou

(1) In the first place, I have a deep Calvinistic suspicion of anyone

Green Hill for Barry

Cut page

who thinks he is changing the world for the better by expanding the mind with drugs" rather than the harder way of using the mind through reason. A drugged, irrational world is not my idea of paradise. But Reich would simply reply that my aversion to marijuana and trust in human reason only show me up for the unconverted, square Consciousness II type that got this world into the mess it is in the first place.

(2) Second, I question the effectiveness of his process of Conversion from Con I + II, to Consciousness III. In essence he says (1) Be yourself, that's the first step. "The individual self is the only true reality." (241) When you understand this at last, you have at last stepped outside society, into a new consciousness. You are free. ~~No rules~~. You will neither give commands nor follow them. (2) But you will be an evangelist. That's the second step. "Every new consciousness person becomes an evangelist", he writes, "seeking new converts". He does this not by education (why bring reason + organization back into paradise?), and not by missionary aggression — but by living one's own beautiful life, ~~at~~ which will be so attractive to "the deceived, the broken and the lost", ~~that~~ (321) that they will simply follow you into the surf, or the sunset or the green, green grass. ~~One of his~~ "Even businessmen, once liberated, would like to roll on the grass and be in the sun" (328) — which is true. Even missionaries feel the urge, sometimes — but I'm not sure that that is quite enough to convert me to beads, bell-bottoms and community living with the very, very young. There is still something missing in his evangelism.

(3) Third, I find no ~~[illegible]~~ program of social action in his revolution. At least Con. I. ~~[illegible]~~ with its Puritan program, and Con II. with its liberal reforms, tried to do something about the world → But basically, I think the real trouble with The Greening of America is not in its evangelism, in its simplicity — I, too, believe that to change the world we must first be changed ourselves. No, where I part most radically from Reich is in his understanding of the ideal world, and in his understanding of the true self.

(4) I wish ~~Reich~~ Charles could be as ~~critical~~ analytically critical of his own new ~~bright~~ world of Consciousness III, as he is when he is condemning our old worlds of Con. I and II. Unfortunately, Actually, when you strip away the rhetoric, his new ~~world of the future~~ utopia turns out to be just as elusive, and just as phony, as all the other worlds man has tried to build, when he builds by himself. Unfortunately, Reich rejects history as well as reason — someone says he quotes no book more than 30 years old — which, if I may speak judgmentally and with some bias as a historian — ~~which~~ means he really cannot understand either the past or the present or the future

Neil Reich does not tell the next generation to cop-out. Ellen Willis, writing in the New Yorker is bitterly caustic, "This musty college professor.. thinks he is going to make a revolution by sitting on our bottoms [asses] contemplating the sunset." (277).

~~He dis~~

Not having need history, he freely distorts the past. The American Dream was never so individualist, as he paints it. The Corporate State is not a machine, the workers are not mindless, the Bill of Rights far from erodingly, is probably enforced more strictly today than ever before in history, hypocrisy is not limited to the past, the old. All his distortions of the ~~past are negative~~ world outside Con. III are negative.

But when he turns to his own dream, Con. III – he distorts it the other way – he paints with an airbrush, not a scalpel. ~~He distorts it the other way.~~ Everything is rosy, false. Why doesn't he tell us about Charles Manson and the Satan-worshipers and the murders in Haight-Ashbury, when he sings about the youth culture? ~~to drugs~~. Even his youth heroes are a little phony. Bob Dylan was a pioneer of the revolution, he changed the world, but by ~~being~~ daring to be himself. ~~He changed the world~~ And how? But Bob Dylan ~~was~~ a musical genius – no ordinary self. And he wasn't quite honestly himself, was he. His name was Zimmerman, but that was too Jewish, so he changed it. Is that being your true self? (253 f.) The more I see of the real world on Con. III behind Reich's lyric poetry, the more I wonder if I really want to live in it.

~~Perhaps the root fault is Reich's~~

But the trouble with Reich's world is the inadequacy of his "self." If the building blocks of the revolution are going to be the rediscovered selves of the human race, he's ~~building on sand~~ got too much sand in his cement. His world will fall apart all over again, as any student of the history of utopian communes could tell him. ~~An unedited question ought be whether I~~ Can unregulated individualism (neither giving nor taking orders, he says) ever build a community. ~~But~~ And even if it could – is the human self, by itself, enough of a foundation?

I have read another book, about a Consciousness I, and a Consciousness II, and a Consciousness III – though it does not call them by those names, and they are not all parallel. It's a much better book, really. It's the Bible.

CRITIQUE

~~There's no real parallel betw. Con. I in Reich and the Bible. They're talking about different things. Consciousness I in Scripture is the human self as God made it. Good. In the image of God. There is our basis for optimism.~~

Con. I. in the Bible is man as God made him – the true human self. ~~Don't confuse this with parallel in Reich's Con. I – they are talking about different things.~~

Con. II. in the Bible is man not as God made him, but as he made himself. He is not the solution, he's the problem. But strangely enough what the Bible identifies as the problem, Reich thinks is the solution – the unredeemed human self. Find yourself – and the revolution has begun, he says. But what happens when the self you find isn't what you want. Reich's greatest defect is that he has no sense of the tragic, no ~~dominant~~ doctrine of sin – and ~~you can't~~ this lack ~~has fatally weakened~~ is the fatal flaw in his revolution.

~~The greening of America, the greening of the world, – if I may conclude say one last word as a preacher – is going to begin not home to begin coming. And it is a~~

"There is a revolution coming.. It will not require violence to succeed, and it cannot be successfully resisted by violence." So far Reich is right. But ~~the real greening~~ its key is not self-discovery. The greening is coming – and ~~the~~ it comes first from a green hill far far away on which a Saviour died.

Before discussion –
Let's close with another popular song for the youth culture that really gives me hope.

The Greening of America

I. The Coming American Revolution

"There is a revolution coming — not like revolutions of the past. It will originate with the individual & with culture & will change political structures only as its final act. Will be non-violent. Cannot be resisted by violence... It promises a higher reason, a more human community & a new & liberated individual. "new & enduring wholeness and beauty, — a renewed relationship of man to himself, to other men, to society, to nature and to the land"

Purpose — to bring man, the city & life to terms with the revolution of technology & science that has taken place. so that mind controls machine, not vice versa.

At heart of everything — "a change of consciousness: A "new head" a "new man" (p.3)
We need "the recovery of self that makes conversion to a different consciousness" (p 15).

Analysis of present: (1) Disorder, corruption, hypocrisy, war.
(2) Poverty, distorted priorities & law-making by private power.
(3) Uncontrolled technology & the destr. of environment,
(4) Decline of liberty & democracy; powerlessness. Police, military.
(5) Artificiality of work & culture.
(6) Absence of community: loneliness.
(7) Loss of self. "death in life." Man becomes "a productive unit for a mass technological society.

"The central fact about America in 1970 is the discrepancy between the realities of our society and our beliefs about them.. Unreality is the true source of powerlessness
"We no longer understand the system under which we live.. the system has been permitted to assume unchallenged power to dominate our lives & now rumbles along unguided and therefore indifferent to human ends

We need a new "understanding" in order to control these forces. Understanding — world view — "consciousness" The great question: what mind & way of life can preserve man's humanity & very existence against the domination of the forces he has created

America has had, or is having, 3 types of consciousness

I. The traditional outlook of the American farmer, small businessman & worker who is trying to get ahead. Formed by 19th c.

II. The values of an organizational society, beginning in 1st half of 20th c. — a technical and corporate society.

III. The new generation

[But class — to paint the conversion as creation of a fictitious reality, "a fiction based on what can offer man the best hope of a life that is both satisfying and beautiful".

II. Consciousness I. Loss of Reality

The American dream: life, liberty + the pursuit of happiness.
Liberation from the constraints of class status + old world villages life.
humanistic, not materialistic.
character, honesty, hard work.

The corruption of the dream.

(1) The other side of the America character. "harsh side of self-interest, competition
(2) Failure to change with the changing realities. "The world of small towns and simple virtues" disappeared, but the views remained. (p. 24)

Consciousness I people. — AMA-type doctors, many members of Congress, gangsters, Republicans, and 'just plain folks'." (p 25) Stubborn vs. all contrary evidence. Lost contact with reality.

What were the realities ignored? (1) Competitive market economy - made everyone compete, made war on nature.
(2) Scientific technique - denoted efficiency to detriment of human values.

Results: (1) Result. land was ravaged - and man was viciously ravaged within (p 29). Work ceased to be self-expression. Money became master.

How did forces of industrialism, designed to benefit man, begin to destroy him?
"Industrialism (says Karl Polyani) placed man under the rule of laws that were not human".

(2) Destroyed America's political + social system of individual sovereignty. Industry enslaved the worker. Power became centralized - enslaved the citizen. "Power joined to repression + order". "Impersonal leadership of an economic + technological system."

(3) Loss of any set of values to fall back. (p. 38) America had no way of thinking for the common good.

(4) Insistence on seeing ills of industrialism as a moral problems - not statistic. Traffic accidents are predictable, not result of driver responsibility. They see everything as a problem of law + order - not social restructuring

III. The Failure of Reform

Attempts. ① Populist
② Progressive. Wilsonian
③ New Deal - "our first great attempt at social control" - p. 56

Primary trends of industrialism:
① Erosion of physical + social environment
② Growth of "private" power over the economy + over individual lives
③ Evils of unlimited competition.

Basis of reform - ① Dealt with consequences + symptoms, "in the public interest." p. 46.
② Moralistic

Outline of reform: ① Regulatory
② Balancing of power (e.g. labor vs. business).
③ Security + welfare

Failure - ① Lag - too late
② Shallowness - too little
③ took power from technological corporations, + gave it to govt. organizations - not to individuals. p. 52
④ Failed to grapple with deeper problems: ⓐ loss of meaning
ⓑ loss of community + self
ⓒ dehumanization of environment p. 53

⑤ Politically opposed by Conservatives & people. Blamed efforts at solving problem, instead of the changes that caused it (52)
⑥ Inadequate consciousness + devotion of the liberals. (????)

Lesson - "social change cannot be accomplished without the support of an appropriate consciousness in the people." (54)

Result - one result = creation of a new consciousness (II), which grew out of reform:
namely: ① belief in domination + the necessity for living under domination" (p. 60)
② the public state (with hope that public + private power would balance each other out"
Tragedy: instead of balancing each other out, the two powers joined "to form the inhuman structure in which we now live - the American Corporate State." (p. 61.)

IV. Consciousness II.

Dysfunctions failure of Consciousness I. – robber barons, business piracy, ruinous competition, unreliable products + false advertising, grotesque inequality + the chaos of excessive individualism.. leading to a gangster world". – p. 63.

Remit – a turn away from individualism; demand for organization + combination of activity, reason. Consciousness I demanded sacrifice for the indiv.d. good; Cons. II. for the common good. p. 64

"Portnoy's Complaint" – "the finest single portrayal in America of the struggle to adjust to the organization world" !! His own impulses in unreconcilable conflict with society's demands 65

Category II people. businessmen, liberal intellectuals, educated professionals, middle-class suburbanites, labor-union leaders, gave McCarthy supporters, blue-collar workers with newly purchased homes, old line leftists + members of the American Communist party. The Kennedys + The N.Y. Times editorial page Democrats

Program ① greater commitment of individuals to public interest
② more social responsibility by private business
③ more affirmative govt action – regulation, planning, welfare state (69-70)

Philosophy. – "a profoundly pessimistic view of man". Man needs organizing by society to keep him from destroying himself. (70) Best part of man is "reason"
"Behaviors more in the automobile than in walking, more in the decisions of an institution than in the feelings of an individual.."
• Ask what you can do for your country." – institution more my than individ
"all individual liberty (is) subject to the overriding state interest" (72)

Concern with reform – but this is a battle with Consciousness I.
Domination of man + environment by technique :– by machine, or by reason – but dominated 73
Elitist anti-democratic
Disclaims personal responsibility for what his organization or society does.
Split between private + working self. (82) "schizophrenia" "hollow man"
Plays a "role".

Greatest lack – "no subjective standard of reality with which to evaluate or oppose the purported reality of efficiency, technological progress." (90) Has lost its sense of mystery, reverence

V. Anatomy of the Corporate State.

1. "Children, teen-agers, artists, writers and especially moviemakers" understand the world best (92.)

In the 1950's – society became deranged. A new magnitude of blunder. Technology, organization, administration out of control.. serving for their own non-human ends

The American Corp. State = a single vast corporation with very few exceptions involuntary make employees.
It determines that 10% shall be poor + highways flourish; miners shall be poor + cdw, execs rich. 93.

Characteristics: ① Amalgamation + integration. Public + private have merged. Govt. and is essential.
② Administration + hierarchy. Decision-making from the top.
③ Autonomy. No longer controlled by the the democratic process + its selected leaders – or the Constitution. (p. 109)
Only "organized" interests have a voice
Decision-makers have only limited alternatives. "He tends", not "runs" the machine
④ The New Property = relationships to organizations. Happiness defined in terms of a position
"the worst of all possible worlds: uncontrolled technology + uncontrolled proliferating, combined with a force. both immensely powerful + utterly irresponsible." (119).
This involves loss of liberty – the price of relation to the organization – (123)
⑤ Law – The Inhuman Medium. inapplicable to opposing corporations – Bill of Rights applies only to opposing govt.
law no longer neutral. Its on the side of management
Money "the pump behind man and his values" (Marx). – (187)

[Reich's standard = "self-interest" – (p. 138)ff.)
"For human beings the only truth must be found in their own humanity.."
An inadequate basis Reich looks for solutions to a powerless + helpless source. man.

VI. The Lost Self

In the Corporate state, man walks "mindless and lifeless, the minister + instrument of a machine world."
Begins with public school – tests + memorization, discipline + repression. Trained to be a producer + consumer.
School trains "to stop thinking + start obeying." "Indoctrination". "A pervasive atmosphere of dishonesty + hypocrisy" (145) "Violation of personality" "An examination is a form of violence." (145)
What the adolescent needs is solitude, individuality, self expression

[History from the movies – Casablanca. "Bogart is a man who can still change fate by taking action. Perhaps Casablanca was the last moment when most Americans believed that" (163)]

Loses opportunity. People who grow, might want to change jobs; change wives. Can't. (162)

The Contrast: Conc. II – the cocktail party
III – "listen to music together, lie on the grass + look at the sky together, or share food, or sit silently + exchange sensations" – (162)

The Ideal: – (p 166) – Sex, adventure, mind-expanding drugs, wilderness, Dance, Responding to Own Need

D = Drinel

(2)

VII It's Just Like Living

The ecological problem: the Corporate State, parasitic, "draws its vitality by impoverishing the natural world" (171)

The logic of exploitation: capitalism pays salaries + meet costs – but not "hidden costs", e.g. miners' lung disease, delinquency of workers' neglected children" (173)

B ① Substituting – take away man's appreciation of natural body odors + then sell him deodorants.." ! (176).

R ② Management of Consciousness
Too much spending on consumer goods – not enough on necessities, like education.
The urban – advertising.

D. We should dress as renaissance man – let culture bring back the body ! (182)

R. The phenomenon of substitution – ① Destroy nature. ② Then produce a plastic substitute.

③ Art: Reality of work

④ Passivity of experience Spectator. Imposed from outside, not developed from within

⑤ Destruction of community (196) Erosion of community – "one of major effects of industrial revolution".
Substitution of false communities – Family has been destroyed (197)
Substitutes sex, "activities The isolation of the couples.

Illustration: Astro-trip – "better than grass"

"Amid all the promises of science + knowledge, of discovery, wealth + freedom, life instead of being expanded, has been narrowed + become miserly; and humans, having the possibilities of a rich + varied banquet, are forced to live in deprivation, hollowness + despair" (203)

Consciousness II keeps people unaware of the anti-vitality of the Corporate State + their own unhappiness (207)

VIII The Machine Begins to Self-Destruct (204)

Not flexible, controllable enough to meet people's wants

Contradictions in its structure, which pierce illusions of Consciousness I + II

1. Creation of dissatisfaction in the worker-consumer (207) "The newly-persuaded consumer, living for his own pleasures, is no longer a willing worker" (208). The principle of hedonism contradicts the principle of service
"No viable concept of work". The consumer-oriented state promotes leisure work has no status
Freedom of craftsmanship.
The poor know better than ever before what they are missing. (214) TV incites to revolution.

2 Creation of a separate, self-conscious youth culture.
Youth has been prolonged

Signs of consumer revolt – ① by Commuter RR.
② ~~Youth~~ Hippie rejection of manufactured, consumer goods (?)

3. TV exposure of unreality of stereotyped life. "Life isn't like that
"It's life's illusions I recall, I really don't know life at all" Sing of revolution (221)

4 Over-reaction, repression by the state (222). Laws forbid – rather than remove causes
Result – radicalization of workers by convincing them that law is the tool of their enemies (224)
Marijuana laws unjustified. (225).

Youth revolt vs. the system.
Revolt vs. Vietnam War – "the ultimate absurdity" The war was the ultimate breach in the illusion Could it be sold (232)

Already dated - the military, the commune

(7)

IX. Consciousness III. The New Generation (233).

Caught in two interacting forces (1) the promise of life made to young America by our affluence, technology, freedom + ideals.
(2) the threat to that promise posed by everything from Vietnam to Vietnam

D

I At last - a life of surfing is possible. (235)
- acceptance of self. "I'm glad I'm me." No guilt (235)

II The Betrayal (1) rejection of a dreary corporate job - void of liberation + love they have seen
(2) contrast between their parents' ideals, which they accept, & their parents' failure to live by these same ideals. (237) See Kenneth Keniston, Young Radicals

*R

When did it begin. Class of 1969 - entered in '65.
Summer of '67 - Conversions (240)

Conversions - in a few months, a student changes his haircut, clothes, habits, interests.. He has converted (241)

Analysis (but "analysis" is rejected by Con. III

1 The foundation is liberation Freedom from automatic acceptance of imperatives of society + its consumer (241)

2. Starts with self, not society "The individual self is the only true reality" The 1st commandment - "Thou shalt do no violence to thyself". But not "selfishness" - rather a radical subjectivity
Does not believe in competition. No one judges anyone else. Rejects merit system
No governing standards The world is a community.

2nd comm Thou shalt not judge

3rd. Be honest with others. Do not use them. (249)

[Eileen. He's searching for the right things at a level on which they cannot be found]
No authority It will neither give commands nor follow them (245) Suspicious of contracts - prefers honesty

D.

3. Critique of society "It does seem surprising that young people without political experience should come up with a critique of soc. that seems to have escaped the most scholarly as well as the most astute + experienced of their elders"
(1) Society is unjust to the poor + minorities, benefits the few, lacks democracy + liberty, is ugly + artificial, destroys environment + self, untruthful + hypocritical.

4. Deep personal commitment to the welfare of the community. (But no violence to self or others - not communist)
Not like the liberal's objectivity, an abstract instinct.

Life Style + Culture

D.

1. Energy "Other generations never had such energy even in their youth" (251).
2 Clothes - natural colors (green, blues), wholeness (not one set for office, another for play) Jeans show the body, don't hide it (wrinkles + all). Bell-bottoms give the ankles a special freedom. (253)
Express the new unity of youth.

3. Rejection of reason. The world (like Christ's Testament) is illogical + improbable (258)
4 Patterns (a) Straight - but with new goals (b) Underground war with society (c) New work - rock musician
(d) Ordinary job with new life-style. (e) Drop out (like Berkeley street people
5 Freedom from work - meaningless work (260)
6 Music - the chief medium of expression • The established canon: Bob Dylan, Rock + folk + the blues
Rock - like a medieval cathedral, a tribal ceremony - integrates work & life (262) Better than Beethoven the Rolling Stones (267)
7 Drugs - established a blood-brotherhood, added new dimension to creativity + experience (261)

D. D.

Lack of perspective.

7. new music. first time example of a contemp. American culture originated by people themselves – not by elite – or by the machinery ..

D.

– a source of that truth that is greater than mere facts; it's the truth even if it didn't happen

– quote p. 271

8. Community – as shared experience Not mutual relationship. No loss of individuality

9. Restoration of human consciousness. Counteract the blunting effect of the mass media. Cultivation of the feeling of being an "outsider". (276) One can live only by being anti-social. (277)

10. Suspicion of logic, analysis + principles (278)

Exaltation of experience – all experience. (279)

He burns incense in his home to restore the sense of smell

He discovers meditation by staring for hours at a globe light

Drugs. (p 280-281) Caution – p 282 – "may become a bar to reality

Insight – not facts. Rockefeller.

see effortlessly what is phony in politics, or ugly in architecture. The young just "know" what Cm II takes 20 years to find out

"the ultimate sign of reverence, vulnerability and innocence 'Oh wow!'" (285)

X Beyond Youth: Recovery of Self (286)

But Con III is almost entirely a youth movement – as such it has little future.. It must reach beyond youth a fact.

Its essence – recovery of self – is not limited to youth. Older people + workers need this
But they do not feel the basis for change. They need an "individual conversion"
How does it take place. (Not by education – p. 295]

1) Doubt – affluence does not satisfy; the system prime corrupt.
2) Attraction – they like the new life-style. There is a model to emulate. Blacks
3) Welcome – the new culture "welcomes everyone with warmth + affection; there is room for all, no secrets, no initiation, no competition. (295)

Workers have no such models. The model must have: –

1) New goals – e.g. "to appreciate music, to have small circle of close friendships, to develop his skill in recognizing birds", rather than to be popular, or succeed. This changes his consciousness – he begins to learn a radical view of politics + society. (290)
   First the change of direction (goals), then traveling in that direction (change of consciousness)
   How – by a mental liberation. It steps the mind outside the system
2) New freedom – "he can wear bell-bottom trousers".
3) New reality. [Sad – still not real reality]

Workers + Middle Class – do not need to be radicalized.

1) Their doubts, dissatisfactions already exist [[Good]] Majority hate their work
   But they blame the wrong causes – communists, atheists, hippies.
   Well-educated blacks "understand perfectly" the real causes – but do not believe in anything

The How of Conversion: –

Not by education – (298).

1. Recognition of false base: ① Professionals – focus on status + roles
   ② Workers – focus on symbols like patriotism + morality
2. New values – "growing a garden, reading literature, baking bread, playing Bach, developing a new sense of family" – true knowledge of self.
   "It is the underlying principle that counts – a non-material set of values." (But cf. p. 278)
   You must bring them to envy the new way.
   Meaningful issues – traffic, inflation. These can lead a to more important – racism etc
   Meaningful discussion – issues must be related to evils of Corporate State.
3. Defense of human nature, the average man. (306)
4. Class warfare – the white "major" must be taught to recognize injustice to him, his sensitivity
   a. Dead wire – prime structure (314)
   b. Challenge linkage of authority to higher position. Doctors over nurses; lawyers over secretary. (315)
   "When the white man discovers his servitude, we will see a real explosion" (317)
   But all this comes last – not first. as SDS militants believe. (316)

Not by increasing aggressiveness – but by living one's own life. No hostility. No "pity" "both to those who seem to be enemies but are only the deceived, the broken + the lost" – (321)

XI. Revolution By Consciousness (321)

Liberal, + SDS both wrong
[An unbelieving institution + social action program] (373)

How can society be changed? Not by assault - but change of consciousness
Violence only brings the police state (323) Radicals + liberals think all that is needed:
or more violence is wrong Political activism has failed. (325). Both in + outside system (McCarthy + SDS)

Polarization - the US is then nations "the nation of the peace marchers, + the nation of the headlights". (325)

Change of Consciousness "It is only by change in individual lives, that we can seize power from the State." (327) We can choose The new culture is "the first real choice made by any western people since the end of the Middle Ages" (328)
The State has no mind No one controls it We can capture it

"All we have to do is close our eyes - stop consuming what the Corporation produces. 329
A change of culture will do this Start wanting "Beatles records, bell-bottom trousers + better hospitals" (330) Ignore the govt. until "the President has to don bell-bottom trousers and a dirty T-shirt + go looking for his constituents." (331)
See Crockett - [a bad example]

Change in analysis - America not a police state - for all Power not exercised by force of arms (331)
See ~~Crockett - [a bad example~~

Consciousness is not, as Marx taught, determined by material interests

Social change without class struggle - (334).

Wrifful thing - was both sides. The young will not change as they grow older. The new Con is too much better (338)

"Every new consciousness person becomes an evangelist seeking new converts." (338)
"How long will it be before hippies man the FBI?" (340)

Bob Dylan did what he wanted to do - and incidentally changed the world" (342).

Don't fight the machine head on - pull out the plug.

Revolution by marijuana — (1) maintains community + radical consciousness.
(2) demonstrates hypocrisy + irrationality of society
(3) forces this truth on public notice by civil disobedience
(4) demonstrates, instead, liberation
(5) provokes repressive reaction that demonstrates US. lack of freedom (355)

Signs of success of the revolution the spread of marijuana + long hair

By itself structure is useless Consciousness is the moving part of the element of change (362)
Draw - please actual accomplishments in the system conservation civil rights (367)

Revolution by changing one's own life first. (371)

Change of life - "a magnificent sense of detachment" John Coltrane, green "Hey Jupiter stirred.. (372).
Program: resist the State when you must, avoid it, where you can, but with the minimum stress seek out nature simplicity.
be happy, be beautiful, help others when you can. love + cherish each other, stay together. (373)
Why build it "Give Bureaucrats, once liberated, would like to roll in the grass + be in the sun" (373)

:/. The Greening

Consciousness III is not lazy, defenseless or incompetent. ? (Yet he demonstrated)

What social order does it propose? Wrong question. Structure is not important. "The energy is within each of us." (355) "All that is necessary to describe the new society is to describe a new way of life." Political + economic organization – insignificant, even irrelevant... The focus of the new society is not its structure – "but in how and for what ends we live" (359)

The new way of life – its major themes: –

① Education – not to operate, but to control technology.
- to make individuals able to adapt to change. (352)
- to learn to reach for his own potential, his own individuality.
  : but no absolutes (?)
- non-rational. "rational thought" must be opposed by non-rational thought – drug-thought, mysticism, impulses. "(359)
- for change. legally binding marriages bind – prevent growth + change (359)
- decisions not made by legally designated ~~groups~~ persons, but by self-designated local groups whose only legitimacy comes from their proximity + concern (356).

② Work. – work without discipline, without the employer relationship (359).
non-career. Work to "affirm the self" – not fit into society (401)
non-specialized. Try several careers.
heroic. Must have a challenge. (406)

"When the self is recovered the power of the Corporate State will be ended, as miraculously as a kiss breaks a witch's evil enchantment." (67 – Cn III Cy.).

CON III Controversy

Critique

Kramnick (fellow professor at Yale). If he had to choose between two non-simplicities, he'd choose Spiro Agnew, not Charles Reich. Agnew at least is closer to America. Reich spends too much time in Yale's dining halls. (p. 56).

"anarchic ideal of liberated man freed from corporate, cultural sexual + political constraint." Doesn't solve any of the real problems – crime, inequality, neglect of social need. (56)

Solution is not = liberated life-style, but in limits on freedom. This is only way to fight pollution, poverty, population. ~~Not~~ "Technology, not hair, beads + boots" (60)

Muggeridge: "It is beyond criticism because one cannot criticize unresisting imbecility. How a population stuffed with pot, allergic to any form of discipline or self-control, nomadic, promiscuous and indulgent, is to keep the dark satanic mills of technology going is not explained."

Alsop: "How do you run a steel mill .. in such a way that all the workers are "free to do their own thing"?

His answer: smoke pot, wear bell-bottoms + love people.

silly, kind, sentimental people – lead to fascism

Karl Meyer (Wash. Post). He is ruthless + unsparing in condemning the hypocrisies of the older liberals – but he is the doting Dad when he talks about the Kids. One would never guess from this book that the young are not only our most idealistic but also our dumbest new generation – quivering contemptuous of things they have never really bothered to examine." (7).

70-3829

Good summary of Con II. – p. 10.

G. Wills – columnist. You can't change the world just by "living our lives". Like Bob Dylan. "living lives" without genius is hardly going to change the world.

Marcuse – The Three Commandments: ① Thou shalt do no violence to thyself.
② No one judges anyone else.
③ Be wholly honest with others, use no other person as a means. (16).

The Corporate State is not a machine. Quitting will not stop it.

Galbraith: Impressed by central idea: reduce the power of the industrial state, by making it less important in our lives. But
① Rejection of all persons mental + artistic purpose. Student revolt is of the oldest type – against the need for mental effort.
② Drugs to expand consciousness. "My Calvinist but clinical view is that they are used mostly to escape it."

Robt. Brustein: "Its okay to hang around all of the time with students, as Charlie does, but this is the first time that anybody has ever tried to base an ideology on it." (Dean of Yale School of Drama)

Ch. II. p. 206. I really believe that another 40 yr. or a new living law will cure the ills of mankind.

Weakness of solution - Tautology - like if everyone stops fighting, we will have elected [illegible].

Reviews

Krame: Reich is not Con. III [an unconverted evangelist?] "I've heard that a Wash. woman called him at his home last week & he told her somewhat sternly that he doesn't take business calls at home, that she should call him the next day at the office." (36).

Prentice. The Corporate State: "a monolithic, antihuman merger of gov., business & all other main institutions of Society" (45).

Con. II – the villain in the melodrama. The "unidentified" evil that exists at the top of soc.

But Reich "with his revolutionary dark glasses – distorts history. Con III – when the rhetoric & appearance is stripped away – make man master of the machine & man free to base his soc. on love. Who's against that.

Actually Con. III evolves out of, not reverts vs. Con II. Technology & affluence only can support Con III. (42f.)

→ Reich's "corporate state" – a mixture of cooled down Marx & warmed-up Galbraith" (44).

Yale Course Guide – "the most cogent remark that can be made about Mr. Reich's course is that he thinks kids are neat, & what can be bad about someone telling you how the system & the older generation have warped & destroyed things for us?" (Yale Daily News).

Erich Segal & Charles Reich. Both Yale, both fellows of Ezra Stiles college. At one time both had the NY times best-seller list (one for fiction: Love Story; one for non-fiction: Greening.

Hallet. A great delusion – the youth culture. He believes he can enjoy the benefits of modern technology without dealing with any of its complexities" – 54. "All you need is love,' he says".

Jackson (Prof of Rhet at Yale) – Its premise: "our culture will be the first to come to grips with the reality that 'man lives not by bread alone'." (69).

S. McCracken – "The Gazzing of America" –

Cf. Alfred Rosenberg's The Myth of the 20th Century (which led to Hitler).

"By his constant reference to peanut butter, Reich suggests that he considers it central to the present crisis" (73).

p. 142 – Reich as "religious myth". How would a contemporary soothsayer have reacted to Isaiah, Amos.

As you might guess, reactions to The Greening range all the way from the completely impotable, to the roughly ecstatic — the there are remarkably few of the latter. The interesting fact is that almost without exception all major reviewers panned it:

From Muggeridge on the right: Kriegel - Chng. of Amer. Cr. "all Prof. Reich has to offer for our keeping is intellectual pyrotechnics" 252

To Galbraith on the left.

And Marcuse (Angela Davis's teacher) on the far left — who calls Reich, with disdain an revolutionary ostrich.-

Reich as a gnostic heretic (Voegelin + Elkins — p. 198).

Youth — p. 247. More of the young than the old are for Wallace.
More of the young " " " are hawks.

Negative — drugs.

anti-reason. "Reich discredits Reason because it has been used to justify the war in Vietnam — like says. "because your mother has cooked you a few bad meals you will never eat again" (235)
sex - (p. 219) - "he might want to chase wives". What kind of nonsense is this," writes Nancy McWilliams. The one thing we surely know about what makes kids strong + whole is that they need security." They need the family. Reich blithely scatters the family "without dealing with the problem of alternative social arrangements". "When the family crumbles, it must be replaced by something stronger, not [as R. wld have it] by something weaker [the Woodstock Nation]

1. Competition individualism
2. Liberal technocracy.

"This musty college professor who thinks we're going to make a revolution by sitting on our asses contemplating the sunset" — p. 277. The New Yorker, Ellen Willis

False youth: The youth idols — Dustin Hoffman, Ali McGraw, Elliott Gould — were over 30s playing kids; whereas in the 30s, Jean Harlow, Tyrone Power, Errol Flynn + Carole Lombard were in their 20s playing mature men + women. (239).

* False self — surrender the ego to a spirit of non-competitive
Togetherness — a collective euphoria (240)
A bloodless revolution in which the system will collapse from mass defection & Walden's Pond" (241)